

The Inventory of Historic Battlefields – Battle of Culloden

The Inventory of Historic Battlefields is a list of nationally important battlefields in Scotland. A battlefield is of national importance if it makes a contribution to the understanding of the archaeology and history of the nation as a whole, or has the potential to do so, or holds a particularly significant place in the national consciousness. For a battlefield to be included in the Inventory, it must be considered to be of national importance either for its association with key historical events or figures; or for the physical remains and/or archaeological potential it contains; or for its landscape context. In addition, it must be possible to define the site on a modern map with a reasonable degree of accuracy.

The aim of the Inventory is to raise awareness of the significance of these nationally important battlefield sites and to assist in their protection and management for the future. Inventory battlefields are a material consideration in the planning process. The Inventory is also a major resource for enhancing the understanding, appreciation and enjoyment of historic battlefields, for promoting education and stimulating further research, and for developing their potential as attractions for visitors.

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CULLODEN

Alternative Names: Cùil Lodair

Date of Battle: 16 April 1746

Local Authority: Highland

NGR centred: NH 739 449

Date of Addition to Inventory: 21 March 2011

Date of last update: 14 December 2012

Overview and Statement of Significance

The battle of Culloden was the last pitched battle fought on the British mainland. It was also the last battle of the final Jacobite Rising that commenced in 1745 when Charles Edward Stuart (Bonnie Prince Charlie), grandson of the exiled King James VII & II, arrived in Scotland from France in July and raised his standard at Glenfinnan on 19 August. His aim was to put his father on the throne in place of the Hanoverian George II.

The battle was a total and bloody defeat for the Jacobites which effectively marked the end of almost sixty years of the Jacobite struggle, as never again would an armed uprising be used in the attempt to return the Stuarts to the throne. The Government victory also paved the way for a sustained programme to destroy the power base of the rebel clans.

Culloden is one of the most important battles in the history of the British Isles, and has international significance. It is the final battle fought on the British mainland, and brings to an end more than half a century years of Jacobite conflict, itself played out against a background of wider international wars. Its aftermath transforms the Highlands, bringing to an end the traditional way of life of the area and contributing to the subsequent Clearances. The battle also holds a prominent place within the Scottish cultural legacy, frequently depicted and commemorated in art, music, literature and film. The battlefield itself is one of the most visited tourist sites in the Highlands, and the site holds a particularly high significance and emotional connection to many within Scotland and to the ancestors of the Scottish diaspora.

Inventory Boundary

The Inventory boundary defines the area in which the main events of the battle are considered to have taken place (landscape context) and where associated physical remains and archaeological evidence occur or may be expected (specific qualities). The landscape context is described under *battlefield landscape*: it encompasses areas of fighting, key movements of troops across the landscape and other important locations, such as the positions of camps or vantage points. Although the landscape has changed since the time of the battle, key characteristics of the terrain at the time of the battle can normally still be identified, enabling events to be more fully understood and interpreted in their landscape context. Specific qualities are described under *physical remains and potential*: these include landscape

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features that played a significant role in the battle, other physical remains, such as enclosures or built structures, and areas of known or potential archaeological evidence.

The Inventory boundary for the Battle of Culloden is defined on the accompanying map and includes the following areas:

- Culloden House and grounds. The headquarters of the Jacobite army prior to the battle and the lodgings of Bonnie Prince Charlie.
- The west side of the moor. The initial position of the Jacobite army as determined by archaeological survey. This includes the location of the Culloden Park and Culwhiniac enclosure.
- The east side of the moor. The direction of the advance of the Government army from Nairn and their initial position on the battlefield. This includes Leanach farmstead and adjacent lands, the former marshland to the north and the Cumberland Stone.
- The Leanach enclosure and the Field of the English and lands to the north and south. The centre of the battlefield and the location of hand-to-hand fighting as determined by archaeological survey. This includes the former track which ran across the moorland which was an important feature in the battle and the route of the dragoon movement behind the Jacobite line.
- Lands to the south and south-east of the Leanach farmstead. The route of Jacobites who had broken through the Government lines as determined by archaeological survey. This includes the NTS visitors centre and car-park.
- Land to the west of Culloden Park and Culwhiniac enclosures. The route of the Jacobite flight. This includes the King's Stable cottage.
- The Clan cemetery, the Field of The English and other memorial cairns within the battlefield. This land has high potential to contain graves associated with the battle.

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Historical Background to the Battle

Overnight on 15 April 1746, the Jacobites marched to Nairn in an unsuccessful attempt to surprise the Government force in their camp, following which they were forced to march back towards Inverness with the Government army close behind. Early the following morning, on 16 April 1746, the Jacobite army under Charles Edward Stuart returned to Culloden and took up position on Drummossie Moor, between two stone enclosures at Culwhiniac on the south and Culloden Parks to the north. The Government army formed up around 700m to the east, positioned at a slight angle to the Jacobite line. Seven battalions made up their front line, three ranks deep, with Barrell's and Monro's regiments positioned on the left. Twin batteries of 3 lb guns were located between each battalion. The second line was initially made up from five battalions, with three in reserve but, before battle commenced, two of these reserves (Pultney's and Battereau's) were pushed forward to the right flank of the first and second lines to prevent outflanking by the extended Jacobite left.

The battle opened with an exchange of artillery fire, during which the Government guns quickly took the upper hand over the Jacobite artillery. After suffering this galling fire for some time, the Jacobite infantry surged forward, beginning with the centre of the line made up from the men of Clan Chattan. The right wing, including men from the Atholl Brigade, was a little slower off the mark, and this staggering of the advance created a diagonal movement, with boggy ground, a track running across the moor, gently sloping topography and heavy fire further directing the advance toward the left flank of the Government line. The MacDonalds and others on the left were the last to move forward. They were not to make good progress as they were starting at a greater distance from the Government line than the centre and the right. Heavy fire from the Government artillery effectively stopped them in their tracks.

With the charge underway, the Government artillery changed from round shot to case and grapeshot and, when the Jacobites reached about 45m, the Government troops discharged a volley of musketry into the body of the charging enemy. The losses must have been terrible, but the momentum and determination of the charge was enough to carry the attackers crashing into the front of the Government left, between Barrell's and Monro's regiments. Although they managed to hack their way into the front line, many Jacobites found themselves sandwiched between the muskets and bayonets of the front and second lines, and it is here that the Jacobite struggle effectively came to a bloody end. At this point, Wolfe's and Ligonier's regiments counter-attacked, moving from their position on the left of the second line around the left of the front line, from where they could deliver flanking fire into the mass of Jacobites engaged with Monro's and Barrell's regiments, the latter of which must have been close to breaking.

Meanwhile, the dragoons on the Government left, under General Hawley, made intelligent use of the terrain and moved behind the Jacobite right, after passing through breaches made by the Campbells in the enclosure walls to the south of the field. By this time, all was lost for the Jacobites and, under the protection of a covering action by their cavalry and the infantry detachments of

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the second line, Charles' army streamed from the field. Having taken the day, the Government line advanced in close order, dispatching the wounded and those too slow to escape. The cruel aftermath of the battle has entered into the popular imagination and there are many stories of Jacobite wounded being dragged from their places of shelter and shot against walls, and of the barns in which they sheltered being burned to the ground after the doors had been bolted.

The Armies

Jacobite: Although dominated by clan regiments, the Jacobite army also included strong Lowland contingents and French regulars in the form of Scots and Irish in French service. Despite the presence of these relatively small numbers of regulars, the army was by and large 'amateur' in character, though major engagements at Prestonpans, Falkirk and numerous skirmishes meant that many had previously seen action, and indeed had experienced some degree of success against the Government army. By 15 April, however, the Jacobites were in no fit state for a pitched battle, with a good proportion of the troops still due to join with the main force, while those that did muster on the field were poorly provisioned and many of them exhausted after engaging on an aborted night march on the Government position at Nairn just hours before.

Government: The Duke of Cumberland's army was highly disciplined and experienced, with a high proportion of regiments having served with him in Flanders. It included 16 Regiments of foot, four of which were Scottish and Highland Militia units, including the Argyll Militia. The cannon were served by the Royal Artillery. After crossing the Spey on 12 April, Cumberland's force advanced towards Inverness, finally making camp at Nairn where it was located the night before the battle. Throughout its march up the east coast of Scotland the army was provisioned by the Royal Navy which shadowed its progress.

Numbers

Jacobite: c. 5,000 foot c.250 horse; eleven 3 lb and one 4 lb guns.

Government: 7,000 foot; 800 horse; ten 3lb guns and 6 coehorn mortars.

Losses

The official return for British army casualties (Government troops) was 50 officers and men killed and 259 wounded, one missing (a proportion of the wounded later died of their wounds). Jacobite fatalities have been estimated at between 1,200-1,500, with between 400 and 500 prisoners taken in the immediate aftermath and many more in the days which followed. Only the Irish and Scottish troops in French service were treated as *bona fide* prisoners of war, the rest as rebels.

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Action

No further information.

Aftermath and Consequences

Culloden's most obvious claims to significance are that it was the last battle of the Jacobite risings and the last pitched battle to be fought on British soil. These accolades aside, the battle has a unique place when it comes to tracing the trajectory of Scottish and British history. The battle marked the bloody end of more than fifty years of Jacobite struggle and the beginning of a profound shift in the trajectory of British history. It set in place the destruction of the clan system, which in turn created the social conditions in which the Highland Clearances took place. On an international scale, the defeat of the Jacobites also removed the threat of French invasion and allowed Britain to concentrate on its interests in North America and Canada. The British Army went on to defeat the French during the Seven Years War with numerous personalities related to Culloden, including Wolfe of Quebec, playing prominent roles. The defeat of the French in Canada would pave the way for British expansion on a world wide scale, initially to India, and in turn to lay the foundations for the British Empire. Many men who fought on the Jacobite side were later to enlist in or be pressed into the British army and serve in the Seven Years War, where their suitability to the rough terrain and skill in battle was not lost on their commanders.

Despite the various popular misconceptions over the battle, strongest among them being that it was fought between the Scots and the English, the emotional status of the site should not be overlooked. The clan graves in particular serve as a place of pilgrimage to tens of thousands of visitors every year, many of them coming from the Scottish diaspora overseas.

Events & Participants

Culloden is one of the most iconic battles in the history of the British Isles. It is of immense historical significance because it was both the final battle of the Jacobite Risings and the last pitched battle on the British mainland. Its importance resulted in many detailed contemporary records and maps, and has stimulated considerable subsequent research and archaeological investigation, making it the best understood battlefield in Scotland.

The battle brought an end to the series of Jacobite uprisings that had spanned a period of fifty-seven years. The immediate aftermath saw sustained oppression of the Highlands by the Government in an attempt to break down the clan system and marked a major change in the trajectory of British history.

In the longer term, the influx of Scottish troops, particularly Highlanders, into the British army was to make a major contribution to British success in Canada against the French in the Seven Years War, which broke out in 1756, and would continue to play major roles in subsequent conflicts.

The two best-known figures were undoubtedly the two opposing commanders. Charles Edward Stuart, better known as Bonnie Prince Charlie, was born in

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1720 and was the grandson of the deposed King James VII & II. His father, James Francis Edward Stuart, the Old Pretender, had made previous unsuccessful attempts to restore his line to the British throne, and Charlie, the Young Pretender, subsequently took up the cause. Landing at Glenfinnan on 19 August 1745, he embarked on an eight month campaign which initially met with some success, entering Edinburgh without resistance and then swiftly routing a Government force at Prestonpans, before advancing into England. His army reached as far as Derby by December, but by this point the campaign was already beginning to unravel. The Jacobites withdrew to Scotland, and despite continued attempts to gain the upper hand, including a victory at Falkirk, they were slowly driven back into the Highlands and their final fate at Culloden. After the battle, Charlie was able to escape back to the continent, and would never again openly return to Britain, despite initial attempts to resurrect his cause. As the years passed he grew increasingly bitter about his defeat, before he finally died an overweight alcoholic in Rome in 1788.

The Government commander was Prince William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland and second son of King George II. Born on 15 April 1721, by the time of Culloden, he was an experienced soldier, having served in the Royal navy before transferring to the army in 1742, where he served overseas in Europe and the Middle East. He was serving in mainland Europe when the 1745 Rising began, and once the threat became clear with the Jacobite advance into England, he was recalled to take overall command of all forces in Britain. Cumberland arrived in Scotland in late January, determined to pursue and destroy the Jacobite army, and he took the opportunity when it arose at Culloden. In the aftermath of the battle, many of the crimes atrocities committed against the Jacobites and, subsequently, the wider Highland population, can be attributed to Cumberland. He was determined to end the Jacobites once and for all, by crushing their very way of life. His genocidal actions would earn him the nickname of Butcher Cumberland, and the atrocities committed after Culloden are the chief reason none of the British Army regiments who served there list it in their battle honours. Initially, Cumberland was held as a hero in England and much of Lowland Scotland, but his fame would not last, and his nickname of Butcher began to spread wider as the atrocities became clear. He was forced to resign from public office following a disastrous defeat at Hanover in 1757, and would die in London in 1765.

Lord George Murray was one of the senior commanders of the Jacobite army in the '45 Rising. Born at Huntingtower Castle near Perth in 1694, at aged 18 he served with the British Army in Flanders. Murray and two of his brothers took part in the Jacobite Rising in 1715, after which he had to flee into exile in Europe. He returned and commanded part of the Jacobite forces at Glenshiel in 1719. Murray was wounded in the battle and again forced to escape to Europe after the Jacobite defeat. After being pardoned for his involvement in 1725, Murray returned to Scotland and in 1728 married Amelia Murray, heiress of Strowan. Murray initially refused to join the 1745 rising, but later sided with the Jacobites once more, being made a lieutenant-general by Charles. He commanded the left wing in the Jacobite victory at Prestonpans, but opposed the subsequent plan to advance into England. During the debate

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at Derby, Murray was a strong supporter of withdrawing to Scotland. Murray commanded the rearguard during the retreat, but Charles increasingly distrusted him. At Culloden, Murray unsuccessfully attempted to convince Charles of the unsuitability of the location for the Jacobite army. In the aftermath of the defeat Murray attempted to gather the remnants of the force at Ruthven Barracks, but with the failure of the Rising and Charles' flight back to Europe Murray had no choice but to return into exile himself at the end of 1746. This third exile would be his last, and he never returned to Scotland before his death in 1760 in Holland.

James Wolfe was an officer in the British Army from 1741 until his death in 1759. He was serving on the continent as Captain in the 4th Regiment of Foot when it was among the forces recalled to Britain in 1745 to deal with the Jacobite Rising. He was present at the battle of Falkirk, after which he was promoted to serve as aide-de-camp to Lieutenant-General Hawley, and Culloden, where in the aftermath it is said he refused a direct order from Cumberland himself to execute a wounded Jacobite. Although he served in many capacities in his career, including several postings within Scotland after Culloden, and was held in high regard for his abilities by many, remaining so today, his most famous accomplishment is undoubtedly the victory over the French at Quebec in 1759. As Major-General, he devised a plan to draw French forces out from the city and fight the British on ground which favoured Wolfe's force. He led the assault himself on 13 September 1759, but was fatally wounded in the early stages of the battle, and Wolfe died shortly afterwards.

Also among the forces on both sides at Culloden were numerous clan chiefs, lords and notable figures. For the Jacobites these included Donald Cameron of Lochiel, Alexander MacGillivray, Charles Fraser of Inverallochie, James Drummond, Master of Strathallan, Donald MacDonell of Lochgarry and Lords Elcho and Kilmarnock. Present in the Government force were John Campbell, 5th Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Albemarle, William Anne and Lord George Sackville.

Context

The Jacobite risings intermittently spanned more than half a century between 1689 and 1746. Their motivation was the return of the exiled Stuart monarchs to the throne, James VII & II having been ousted in 1688 by the Glorious Revolution. The last of the risings commenced in 1745 when Charles Edward Stuart arrived in Scotland from France in July, raising his standard at Glenfinnan on 19 August. His aim was to put his father, known by his supporters as King James VIII & III, on the throne in the place of the Hanoverian George II.

Following Charles' call to arms, a number of Highland chiefs joined the Jacobite cause, bringing with them their retainers and dependants. The Jacobite army, which initially consisted of just over 1,000 men, mainly from the MacDonald and Cameron clans, marched eastward in order to recruit more men. The Government and Crown were quick to react, sending a force under the command of General Sir John Cope in pursuit of Charles, which

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narrowly missed an encounter with the Jacobite host on several occasions. Charles and his army arrived in Perth in early September, where they were joined by Lord George Murray, who had played an active role in the earlier Jacobite risings in 1715 and 1719.

Having strengthened his force and found an experienced military commander in Murray, Charles marched south, while Sir John Cope put his troops aboard ships in Aberdeen and sailed to Dunbar where he received the news that the Jacobites were in Edinburgh. Cope marched toward the city, intent on delivering it from Jacobite hands, but on 21 September was intercepted at Prestonpans to the east of the city. After a determined charge by the Jacobites the Hanoverian line broke and Cope's troops were chased from the field in a merciless pursuit.

Following victory at Prestonpans, the Jacobite army continued south, hoping to collect support from England before moving on London. Although there was some enthusiasm for the Jacobite cause south of the border, this did not translate into the swelling of the army's ranks as Charles had hoped. Upon arriving at Derby, it became clear that advance further south was futile, especially as two Government armies were now in pursuit, one of them led by the Duke of Cumberland. They had also received false information, possibly from a spy within their own ranks, that a third army lay between them and London. On 6 December, Charles made the decision to withdraw to Scotland. Following a rear-guard action at Clifton the Jacobite army crossed back over the border on 20 December.

In response to the return of the main Jacobite army (a second, smaller force had been recruited in the north), General Hawley marched from Edinburgh with 8,000 Government troops and the inevitable battle took place at Falkirk on 17 January 1746. Although by rights a Jacobite victory, Charles failed to follow up his slim success on the field and from that point on the Government forces took the initiative. Abandoning the siege at Stirling on 1 February 1746, the Jacobite army turned north and by 21 February had arrived in Inverness, which had been evacuated by most of its Government garrison, consisting largely of Independent Highland units, just a couple of days before. Charles took up residence while his army divided into several units and commenced a relatively successful programme of engaging Highland forts and garrisons including Fort Augustus, Fort William, Blair Castle and Fort George. However, the tide was about to turn in favour of the Government forces and the end was fast approaching.

The Duke of Cumberland, after taking command of the main Government army in Edinburgh, quickly marched north via Perth and Aberdeen. After crossing the Spey on 12 April, Cumberland's force, which numbered some 9,000 men, rapidly closed on Inverness, being provisioned by the fleet which shadowed the army's progress close off shore. In response to this threat Charles reunited what he could of his army and prepared to do battle near his new headquarters at Culloden, on ground then known as Drummossie Moor.

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By 15 April, the Jacobite army was in no fit state for a pitched battle, with a good proportion of the troops still to join with the main force, while those that did muster on the field were poorly provisioned. Although arrayed for battle the enemy did not arrive, and so at Murray's suggestion the Jacobites set out to surprise them in their camp with a night attack. So, late in the evening of 15 April, around 4,500 men began the night march to the enemy camp, some 9 miles to the east. Progress over the rough ground in darkness was slow, with the need to move without making any noise further hindering the advance. With dawn threatening to break and the sound of a drum beating in the Government camp, Murray ordered a rapid return to Drum Mossie.

The aborted night march had only served to further reduce the potential effectiveness of the Jacobite force, many of whom were still scattered across the countryside in search of food. As the exhausted troops caught whatever sleep time allowed, Cumberland's force came into view, some 3 miles to the east. At the sound of approaching pipes and drums around 5,000 weary soldiers fell into the lines adopted the previous day, albeit much further to the west. The right flank was anchored on the corner of the dry stone dykes of the Culwhiniac enclosure and the left on the easterly corner of the walled enclosure of Culloden Parks to the north. For the most part, the clan regiments formed the front line with Irish and French troops and others forming the second, and what little cavalry the Jacobites had forming a third line.

Battlefield Landscape

The location of the battle on Drum Mossie Moor is well established through detailed contemporary maps and archaeological investigations. At the time, the moor was used as rough grazing with some arable but with stone walled enclosures to the north and south. The Jacobites anchored their right and left flanks on these enclosures, with the clan regiments in the front line. The Government army advanced on the Jacobites from their camp at Nairn, around 10 miles to the west.

Although the Jacobites had picked the site of the battle, in a location which blocked the approach to Inverness to the west, it was the Government army which set the scale of the field, coming to a halt around 700 m to the east of the Jacobite line. In doing this they maximised the use of their artillery and the distance over which the Jacobites would have to charge, so creating an extended killing ground for both their artillery and muskets. The first Government line formed not far to the west of a small farmstead (Leanach), with the second line forming just to the east of it, with the farmstead thus being towards the left of the Government lines. Leanach was one of a number of farmsteads scattered across the moor and is the only surviving upstanding example. A farmstead was located within the Culwhiniac enclosure and a sketch map by Yorke shows a building located close to the east-west wall of the enclosure which divided it into two. This building appears on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map as Park of Urchal (as a ruin) and is also shown on Roy's map (1747-55). The much-denuded remains of a building can be

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identified on the ground at this location. The third farmstead was located to the west of the Culwhiniac enclosure and is no longer extant.

Between the Jacobite right and the Government left sat the turf-built Leanach enclosure. Barrel's regiment on the far left of the Government line formed across the mouth of this enclosure though some distance to the east of it. The right wing of the Jacobite charge passed through the enclosure, which was probably a denuded feature by the time of the battle. The moor on the northern part of the battlefield, in front of the Jacobite left, was wetter ground than to the south, so much so that the Jacobites charging here were unable to close with the Government right in contrast to the situation on the left where fierce hand-to-hand fighting took place.

The enclosures to the north (Culloden Parks) and south (Culwhiniac) played an important role in the battle as the Jacobite army anchored its left and right flanks respectively upon them. The Government dragoons also passed through breaches made in the walls of the Culwhiniac enclosure, while the Campbells positioned themselves behind its northern wall to deliver fire into the Jacobite flank. The enclosures were demolished in the 1840s but a walkover survey in 2005 identified the possible foundation courses of both, which in the case of the Culwhiniac enclosure corresponded to a modern field boundary.

Other aspects of the Culwhiniac enclosure may also have survived from the time of the battle. For instance, a gate in the eastern side of the modern fence line, which correspond to the line of the earlier wall, appears to represent the point at which the Campbells breached the wall in order to allow passage for the dragoons through the enclosure, as it corresponds with the location of the breach on contemporary maps and written accounts of the event.

Topographic survey across the core of the battlefield area identified subtle undulations in the terrain, which may have served to partially shield the Jacobites on the right and centre, while their absence on the left may explain the failure of Jacobites on that side to close with the enemy during the charge.

The battle was fought on partially open moorland situated on the crest of a broad sandstone ridge which ran from east to west between Nairn and Inverness. The moor is located on gently sloping ground at the base of the Monadhliath mountains. The subtly undulating terrain of the boggy moor which played a key role in the battle is well-preserved and the centre of the battlefield is today occupied by a mosaic of gorse and heather, with pools of standing water and streams giving some impression of the wet conditions that prevailed on the ground at the time of the battle.

Spatial relationships between key landscape features such as the stone and turf enclosures utilised by the Jacobite line and the open moor of the Government position are intact. Important views out over the undulating topography of the moor provide the same outlook as they would have done in the 18th century and it is clear how the Jacobite right and centre would have been partially shielded from the Government artillery during the charge.

The National Trust for Scotland has partially restored the terrain to its appearance at the time of the battle. This has included the burial of overhead telephone cables; the removal of forestry from the centre of the site; and the

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re-routing of the road that ran through the Clan Cemetery. There had long been calls for the road to be moved as its passage through the clan cemetery was seen by many as an act of desecration, though ironically the old route was in fact fairly much the same as that taken by the track that carried across the moor at the time of the battle and is shown on several of the contemporary battle maps. The Trust has also undertaken restoration or partial reconstruction of the Culwhiniac and Leanach enclosures.

The current condition of the battlefield is good, with the centre of the battlefield under NTS ownership. The area around the fringes of the NTS property, in which parts of the battle took place, are for the most part occupied by agricultural fields, both arable and grazing and are partly designated as a conservation area. The archaeological potential of these areas is relatively high, with the areas occupied by the left flank of the Jacobite army and the right flank of the Government line sitting to the north of the B9006 and the location of the cavalry action located to the north west of the modern Culchunaig Farm.

The major historic threat to the site was the planting of coniferous trees in the 19th century. The NTS have removed most of the trees from their holding, though elements still exist around the boundaries of the property. Archaeological survey within these areas of former forestry indicate that the plantations have severely disrupted the ground and have potentially removed all archaeological evidence associated with the battle. The road that was re-routed in 1984 also still passes through the northern part of the battlefield. The area of the battlefield out-with NTS ownership is under pressure from development and forestry, though part of it has some protection through its status as a Conservation Area.

Location

Although fought on Drumossie Muir (moor), the battle name Culloden was adapted almost immediately, coming from the proximity of Culloden House – the moor sitting within the wider lands of the Culloden estate. Thanks to a number of detailed contemporary battle maps it is possible to accurately locate the battle within the modern landscape. Archaeological investigation has also played an important role here, with the results feeding directly into the re-interpretation of the site presented by the NTS with the opening of the new visitor centre in 2008.

The battlefield is located on reconstituted moorland and grazing land some 4 miles to the east of Inverness, in the parish of Croy and Dalcross. The site is at approximately 160m above sea level, on a rolling terrace largely formed from Old Red Sandstone.

Stone enclosures to the south of the field (Culwhiniac enclosures) provided cover for the Government dragoons to outflank the Jacobite right and engage from the right-rear, where they were confronted by their opposite numbers among the Jacobite cavalry. The encounter took place across a hollow which is still clearly visible to the north west of Culchunaig farm.

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Terrain

The National Trust for Scotland has made several attempts to reconstruct the terrain as it appeared at the time of the battle. The first of these was the burial of previously overhead telephone cables in 1962. In 1981, the Trust purchased the area of forestry that now represents the core of the site and removed the trees not long after. In 1984, the route of the B9006, which previously ran through the site and the clan cemetery, was relocated to the north of the site, although still within the battlefield area. The previous visitor centre was constructed in 1970 and extended between 1983 and 1984.

The Field of the English was acquired by the NTS in 1989 and the Leanach enclosure reconstructed between 1995 and 1996 (there is little doubt that this occupies roughly the same position as the original). The present interpretation of the site, in conjunction with the new visitor centre, includes flags to mark out the Jacobite and Government lines and regimental name markers which accurately represent the location of the two armies during the battle, with around 700 metres of open moorland between the two lines.

A walk-over survey has possibly identified the partial remains of Culloden Parks enclosure to the north of the battlefield. A stretch of wall foundation was identified in 2005 (Pollard 2006) and this may relate to the western wall of the former enclosure. It seems likely that any other traces have been grubbed out and replaced by ditches and hedges.

Condition

Since 1935, a number of features on the site have been designated Scheduled Monuments, including the stone commemorating the graves of the English, the graves of the clans and the Well of the Dead, while Old Leanach Cottage and the King's Stables are both listed buildings.

Archaeological and Physical Remains and Potential

Culloden benefits from being the most intensively archaeologically and historically investigated battlefield in Scotland.

In the 1990s geophysical surveys which aimed to identify traces of the long vanished Leanach earthen enclosure, located between the Government and Jacobite lines, were inconclusive.

In 2001 a limited programme of metal detecting, geophysical and radar survey, excavation and topographic survey was undertaken. The metal detector survey established that large amounts of unstratified battle debris (in the form of musket shot, artillery shot, buttons etc) survived in the topsoil, most obviously in the area known as the Field of The English. Although limited in scale, this work demonstrated that the location of the hand-to-hand fighting on the left of the Government line was at least 80 m further south than thought at the time. Topographic survey across the core of the battlefield area was also carried out as part of the 2001 programme of archaeological work. This

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survey identified subtle undulations in the terrain, which may have served to partially shield the Jacobites on the right and centre, while their absence on the left explains the failure by the MacDonalds and others to close with the enemy during the charge.

Excavation work of a low rectangular feature attached to the gable end of the Leanach cottage established that it was a 19th century kitchen garden and not the infamous 'Red Barn' (where wounded Jacobites were taken in the aftermath of the battle and which was burnt on the orders of the Duke of Cumberland).

Radar survey carried out across the mounds in the Clan Cemetery revealed that they cover pits, presumably burials. Further anomalies beneath the grassed-over road which runs between the mounds may represent pits buried beneath the road or the ends of the visible mounds covered by the road when it was widened in the 1830s: human bones were reportedly found during its construction. Radar survey in the Field of The English identified an anomaly suggestive of a grave pit not far to the south of the clan cemetery, which could represent the resting place of the Government troops.

A further programme of work was undertaken in 2005 to support the re-interpretation of the site and a new visitor centre. A more intensive programme of metal detecting in the vicinity of The Field of the English and the now reconstructed Leanach enclosure confirmed that this was an area of intense hand to hand fighting, defined by finds of pistol balls, fragments of musket fittings and a bayonet socket. Large numbers of musket balls and pieces of grape and case shot within the Leanach enclosure clearly demonstrated that the Jacobites charged through this area and not around the enclosure as suggested by most historians. The survey also confirmed that the Jacobite's initial deployment line was located considerably further to the west than previously believed.

Geophysical survey in the Field of The English located a dense concentration of anomalies, two of which could be grave pits. The discovery of a 1752 German Thaler coin above one of these anomalies may represent a visit by a British soldier, perhaps stationed at nearby Fort George, at a time when the graves were still marked in some way. Other circular anomalies may represent prehistoric settlement on the moor, which would not be unusual given the high concentration of prehistoric ritual and funerary monuments in the area. Small-scale trial trenching of an anomaly to the west of Leanach Cottage identified a foundation slot possibly related to one of the other buildings of the Leanach Steading, though further excavation would be required to confirm this.

A programme of metal detecting carried out across the areas of the new car-park and the visitor centre uncovered low densities of fired musket balls and Jacobite buttons. These are suggestive of the 'mopping up' of Jacobites who had broken through the Government lines and were hoping to escape the field to the south and east.

The Clan Cemetery is a series of low, grass covered mounds grouped near a later memorial cairn. The mounds originally sat on both sides of the verges of the road across the battlefield (removed in 1984) and each has a roughly

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hewn block of granite set into its end on which has been carved the name of the clan allegedly represented by the bodies within. These headstones were added to the graves by Duncan Forbes of Culloden House in 1881, and there is some uncertainty as to whether they replaced earlier markers: some of the mounds are named by clan on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map of 1868.

In the vicinity of the graves are other stones which possibly relate to this programme of memorialisation. These include the Keppoch Stone which supposedly marks the spot where the chief, Alasdair MacDonell, 16th of Keppoch fell during the charge. A number of stones have a Government connection including the 'Cumberland's Stone', located on the eastern end of the battleground, which according to local tradition was the vantage point from which the Duke took breakfast and watched the battle. This is a natural boulder and, as there is no doubt that he was with his men during the action, is certainly too far back from the Government position for Cumberland to have been anywhere near it during the battle.

The first genuine post-battle monument to the dead was a cairn erected in the area of the cemetery in 1858 by Edward Power (an earlier planned memorial in 1849 ran out of funds prior to construction and only a time capsule was buried). It was not completed until Forbes of Culloden took over the task in the 1880s and built a 6 m (20 ft) high circular stone tower. Two unit memorials were erected through the latter part of the 20th century; the Irish memorial stone erected in 1963 by the Military History Society of Ireland and the French stone erected by the White Cockade Society in 1994.

Based on map regression work, the National Trust for Scotland (NTS) has reconstructed some of the enclosures that played a key role in the battle: the small horseshoe-shaped turf-built Leanach enclosure and part of the stone-built Culwhiniac enclosure. Traces of the original enclosure can be traced in the fields to the south.

Two cottages located within the battlefield still survive and have been recorded in some detail. King's Stable Cottage was located behind the position of the Jacobite line and so named because Government horses were stabled nearby in the aftermath of the battle. Although it does not appear on any of the contemporary maps of the battle it is likely to pre-date the battle. The cottage is well preserved and has only undergone minimal restoration.

Leanach Cottage, which for some time served as the visitor centre for the site, is located on the eastern side of the battlefield. The structure corresponds to a farmstead that appears on mid 18th century maps sandwiched between the left of the first and second lines of the Government position. Most of the maps show the farmstead consisting of three buildings, with Leanach cottage being the only survivor. The survey identified that the cottage is probably contemporary with the King's Stable. It was rebuilt in the 1880s with further repairs taking place throughout the 20th century.

Historic building recording of the King's Stable Cottage and Leanach Cottage was carried out by T. Addyman on behalf of the National Trust for Scotland. The King's Stable was recorded in 2000 and Leanach in 2009.

Culloden House, a country mansion to the north of the battlefield, was the lodgings of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the headquarters of the Jacobite army

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prior to the battle. The house was rebuilt in the late 18th century over the footprint of the original structure. Fragments of the earlier mansion were incorporated into the present house at basement level.

Culloden has far more contemporary records than any other battle fought in Britain. The numerous letters, journals, army documents and maps reflect the combined influence of increased literacy and ever increasing levels of military bureaucracy. Some of the most valuable of these are the eyewitness accounts that survive from Jacobite and Government sources and the official records from the British army. The surviving battle maps show an incredible amount of detail as they were drawn by both trained cartographers and line officers. Although 38 battle maps survive the majority are based on a much smaller number of maps produced by people who were actually at the battle.

Cultural Association

There is little doubt that Culloden is one of the most emotive battles to have been fought in the UK. It is inextricably linked with the romantic image of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Highland Jacobites. The battlefield is one of the most popular heritage tourist destinations in the Highlands of Scotland and has become almost a place of pilgrimage for ex-patriot Scots and other members of the Scottish Diaspora from places such as USA, Canada and Australia, especially those with Highland ancestry. The greatest focus for modern visitors is undoubtedly the Clan Cemetery. The site continues to be a place of great importance to clan associations and groups such as the White Cockade society.

There are, however, popular misconceptions about the battle, among them being that all the Jacobites were Highlanders and that it was a battle between the Scottish and English rather than part of a civil war played out against the backdrop of the pan-European War of Austrian Succession.

The battle has featured prominently in literature, art and other media throughout the passage of time since the battle. The most famous painting of the battle titled 'An incident in the Rebellion of 1745' by French artist David Morier was painted soon after the battle and shows the Government and Jacobite troops in close combat. The battle and its aftermath has featured in popular culture through film, such as Michael Caine's adaptation of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped* (1971) and television, such as the ground-breaking 1964 BBC docudrama *Culloden*, based on the popular book *Culloden* by John Prebble (1961) and an episode of *Doctor Who* (1966).

The NTS has owned and maintained parts of the battlefield since 1945. A purpose-built visitor centre was constructed in 1970 and the Trust embarked on a conservation programme which has succeeded in re-routing the road away from the Clan Cemetery and removing areas of forestry. Further land has been purchased to prevent the sale of parts of the battlefield for housing developments and the current aim of the Trust is to return much of the battlefield to its appearance in 1746.

A new state-of-the-art visitor centre with interactive exhibitions was created in 2008 alongside a new network of footpaths, interpretation boards and flags

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(showing the initial position of the armies as indicated by the archaeological investigations) across the battlefield created to guide the visitors around the site.

Commemoration & Interpretation

Each grass covered mound in the clan cemetery has a roughly hewn block of granite set into the end of the mound, into which has been carved the name of the clan allegedly represented by the bodies within. The clans named are: Mackintosh; MacGillivray, Maclean, Maclachlan, Atholl Highlanders; Stewarts of Appin; Cameron; MacKintosh, Frasers and “mixed clans”.

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Full Bibliography

Information on Sources and Publications

Numerous eyewitness accounts exist for the battle in the form of soldiers' letters, journals and other memoirs. These personal accounts come from both Jacobite and Government sources and represent a hugely valuable resource. There are also a number of official accounts, and the records for the British army of the time are relatively good, though the equivalent records for the Jacobite army, including morning states and other returns, no longer exist. Coming in the middle of the 18th century, Culloden benefits from an increase in general levels of literacy and the growth of bureaucracy within the military establishment. In short, there are far more contemporary accounts for Culloden than any other battle fought in Britain.

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One of the most quoted sources is not military in origin but a collection of eyewitness accounts collected by the Jacobite sympathising Presbyterian minister, and later bishop, Robert Forbes, which was later published (1895) under the title, *The Lyon in Mourning*. Among the diverse collection of letters, journals, speeches and anecdotes are a series of damning accounts of the behaviour of Government troops in the aftermath of Culloden, including the burning of buildings containing Jacobite wounded which gave rise to the tradition of the 'Red Barn'.

The documentary resource also extends to a number of battle maps, drawn both by trained cartographers and line officers. It should be noted that by 1746 the perspective technique which produced a hybrid between a map and an illustration had been abandoned in favour of the vertical view map with which we are familiar today. During 1746 alone, no less than 38 battle maps appeared. However, these are by and large based on a much smaller number of maps produced by people who were actually at the battle. These are by Jasper Leigh Jones (Government artillery officer); John Finlayson (Jacobite); Daniel Paterson (Government); John Elphinstone (military engineer in Cumberland's service); Thomas Sandby (Cumberland's surveyor); Colonel Yorke (Government); and in addition two others, one of them French.

There is a vast range of secondary sources on the battle. James Ray's *A Compleat History of the Rising* (London, 1752), is the first history of the '45 and although largely a primary source (Ray served on the Government side), also includes a secondary narrative of the campaign. The first real secondary history was Robert Chambers' *History of the Rising of 1745-46* (Edinburgh, 1869). The battle map in Chamber's book incorrectly shows the Jacobite right anchored on the Leanach enclosure. This was later to be repeated in Tomasson and Buist's *Battles of the '45* (1962) and was initially the disposition used in the interpretation of the Jacobite line on the site by the National Trust for Scotland (this was corrected in 2008). Another incorrect assumption passed down through secondary sources is the positioning of Wolfe's regiment at an angle to rest of the Government line right from the start of the battle – as opposed to coming up to that position after the Jacobites hit the front line regiments. This first appears in Home's 1802 work *A History of the Rising*, but also later appears in Tomasson and Buist (*ibid*) among others.

One of the most important secondary works is Anderson's *Culloden Moor and Story of the Battle*, which first appeared in 1867. This provides a unique snapshot of the site as it appeared around the middle of the 19th century. However, the most popular of the secondary works on Culloden is undoubtedly John Prebble's *Culloden* (1961), which although very well written is frustratingly without reference, which makes sourcing some of his more interesting anecdotes all but impossible. Recent years have seen the appearance of more in-depth military histories, among the most noteworthy being Stuart Reid's *Like Hungry Wolves* (1994), which provides a very well-informed post-mortem of the battle and Christopher Duffy's *The '45* (2003), which gives an excellent in-depth account of the entire campaign.

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Primary Sources

(Culloden is by far the most extensively recorded battle to be fought in Britain. The numerous letters, journals, army documents etc. reflect the combined influence of increased literacy and ever increasing levels of military bureaucracy. Given the scale of this resource, it has not been attempted here to include every relevant document. Therefore the following only represents a referenced sample of what is available.)

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British Library

[Hardwicke Papers, vol. DXLI. Narratives and intelligence of the Scottish Rising, chiefly letters and news addressed to the Hon. Philip Yorke, M.P. (2nd Earl of Hardwicke 1764), by Thomas Herring, Archbishop of York, and his secretary, with some additions from Joseph Yorke's papers; 1745-1747] Shelfmark: Add 35889. [Among the enclosures are:- Letter of Joseph Yorke to Lord Hardwicke, describing the battle of Culloden; Inverness, 18 Apr. 1746. Copy. f. 105. +_ Plans of the battle of Culloden. ff. 107, 111 b, 113].

[Hardwicke Papers, vol. CIII. Letters from the same to his son-in-law, Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke; 1745-1780]. Shelfmark: Add 35451. [Among the enclosures are an account of the battle of Culloden by Duncan Campbell, captain in the Argyllshire Militia (f. 36)].

[Hardwicke Papers, vols VI-X. Correspondence of Philip Yorke, 1st Earl of Hardwicke, with his son Sir Joseph Yorke; 1742-1764. Five volumes]. Shelfmark: Add 35354-35358. [Vol. 1 contains Yorke's letters written during campaigns including that in Scotland in 1745-1746, including a description of the battle of Culloden (f.218)].

[Letters, papers, and tracts relating to the Royal Family of Stuart and the Risings of 1715 and 1745; 1688-1788]. Shelfmark: Add 33954. [Manuscripts and printed; the contents include: *Order of Battle of the Rebel Army at the Battle of Culloden, fought y 16th of April, 1746* (f. 18); and the *London Gazette*, 26 Apr. 1746, containing an account of the battle of Culloden, with lists of casualties (f. 23)].

[Miscellaneous collection of papers relating to the history of Scotland, and more particularly to the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745]. Shelfmark: Stowe

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158. [includes *Relation of the Battle of Culloden* “said to have been drawn up there [at Taymouth Castle] by the officers of his [the Duke of Cumberland's] staff” (f. 215)].

National Archives, Kew

[Papers relating to the rising of 1745-1746]. Shelfmark: PRO 30/24/46A/86.[Thirty letters, &c., from Duke of Newcastle, Lord Shaftesbury, Malachi Blake and others. Fourteen printed London Gazettes Extraordinary, and a printed account of the victory of Culloden].

[Particulars from the Duke of Cumberland at Inverness, April 18, of the victory at Culloden Apr. 16]. Shelfmark TS 20/2/2. [Includes parole of officers prisoner at Inverness Apr.17; return of rebel officers prisoner at Inverness Apr. 19; return of Ordnance and Stores captured; return of killed and wounded in the army under the Duke's command; a list of prisoners taken in Sutherland Apr. 15 and embarked on H.M.S. Hound; and a list of officers acknowledged by the rebels to have been killed (26 April 1746)]

[Cumberland to Secretary Newcastle. On his arrival at Nairn; reporting that the rebels continue to retire before him, and although Charles Edward has marched a mile out of Inverness [to Culloden], “I cannot bring myself to believe that they propose to give us battle” (1746 Apr 15)]. Shelfmark: SP 54/30/16.

[Fawkener, reporting the victory and “great slaughter” at Culloden, 1746 Apr 16]. Shelfmark: SP 54/30/19.

[Cumberland to Secretary Newcastle. Account of the battle of Culloden, giving a total of 2,000 rebels killed on the battlefield, including Lord Strathallan , 1746 Apr 18]. Shelfmark: SP 54/30/21A.

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[Atholl to Lord Justice Clerk Fletcher. Concerning the battle of Culloden, 1746 Apr 19]. Shelfmark: SP 54/30/22E.

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[Copy of diary of Captain John Maclean, a Jacobite officer, 1745-1746]. Shelfmark: RH 2/8/110. [includes account of Culloden].

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National Library of Scotland

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Graham, Dougal 1774 *An impartial history of the rise, progress and extinction of the late rising in Britain, in the years 1745 and 1746. Giving an account of every battle, skirmish and siege, from the time of the Pretender's coming out of France, until he landed in France again: with plans of the battles of Preston-Pans, Clifton, Falkirk, and Culloden. With a real description of his dangers and travels through the Highland Isles, after the break at Culloden.* Glasgow: Printed by John Robertson. Shelfmark: RB.s.2337. [also available on microfilm as Mf.134, reel 1344, no. 10; copies also in Glasgow University Library at shelfmarks Sp Coll Mu6-g.8; Sp Coll Mu6-h.11; Sp Coll BD1-k.36; Sp Coll Bh13-c.26; Sp Coll Bh13-c.27].

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Edgar, Will. ca.1746 *Inverness, with the adjacent country, including to Nairn upon the east, with the field of the battle near Culloden, Aprile 16, 1746, and the King's Road to Fort William upon the south-west, survey'd by Will. Edgar.* Shelfmark: Maps K.Top.48.60.a.

Elphinstone, J. 1746 *Map of North Britain done by order of the Earl of Albemarle, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in Scotland.* Shelfmark: Maps K.Top.48.22. [includes a plan of the battle of Culloden].

Pocock, Richard 1760 [plan of the order of battle of the rebel army at the battle of Culloden drawn by Dr. Richard Pocock, Bishop of Ossory, in 1760]. Shelfmark: Additional MS.14257.fol5.

Roy, William 1746? *Plan of Culloden House and the adjacent country, when the battle took place.* Shelfmark: K.Top.50.44.1.

Skinner, William 1749 [Culloden Moor]. Shelfmark: Add 33231 A-PP. [contained within a collection of maps and plans, chiefly of fortifications or surveys for military purposes, that appear to have been collected by Lieutenant-General William Skinner; see Add. MS.22875 for other copies of many of the plans in this collection].

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Yorke, Joseph 1746 [rough sketch of the battle field of Culloden]. Shelfmark: Add 36257 (at f.75). [contained within the Hardwicke papers, shelfmark Add 36257, is the orderly-book of Col. Joseph Yorke, while serving as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Cumberland,

30 Jan-18 July 1746; the book contains this rough sketch of what appears to be Culloden; a reproduction, dating to 1913, of this sketch is held as shelfmark: Maps 9115.(9); further plans of the battle are included in the Hardwicke Papers at shelfmark Add 35889].

Highland Council Archive

[Plans of Culloden Muir, from the plan by John Rose, 1840, also plan of the Battle of Culloden 1746 with corrections from the 1840 plan. 1746-1840]. Shelfmark: D230.

National Archives, Kew

Finlayson, John 1746 *A Plan of the Battle of Culloden and the adjacent Country showing the Incampment of the English Army at Nairn and the march of the Highlanders in order to attack them by Night*. Shelfmark: MPF 1/1. [extracted from SP 36/83; Two elaborate cartouches: one containing title and surrounded by arms and tents; another containing notes on the commanders of the English and Highland Army; Ref: Maps and Plans in the Public Record Office: I. British Isles, c.1410-1860, (London, 1967), entry 4048; a copy of this map, dated 1752, is in the British Library [9115(3) and copies are also held by the National Library of Scotland, see below].

Paterson, D 1746 *Country from Cullen to Isle of Skye shewing the march of the Royal Army, their different encampments and the Battle of Culloden*. Shelfmark: WO 78/1828. [insets of the north and south ends of Loch Ness, Inverness, Culloden; 1746, the coloured drawing probably later in the eighteenth century; copy of the same(?) held by National Library of Scotland, see below].

National Archives of Scotland

[Papers of the Campbell Family of Stonefield (including Sketch of Hanoverian order of battle at Culloden, 1746)]. Shelfmark: GD 14.

[Plan of the battlefield of Culloden, 16 April 1746]. Shelfmark: GD 61/118.

[Papers including a plan of Culloden, 1746]. GD 112/47/1/5-13.

[Papers including a sketch plan of the battlefield of Culloden, 1746]. Shelfmark: GD 248/48/4.

[Plan of the battlefield of Culloden, 1746 (copy)]. Shelfmark: RH 1/2/556.

[Letters and papers of Sir John Clerk, dating to 1745-1746, concerning the 1745 rising]. Shelfmark: GD 18/3245-73. [includes: sketches of the battle of Culloden (GD 18/3256)].

Inventory of Historic Battlefields – Battle of Culloden

National Army Museum, London

The Battle of Culloden on 16th April 1746, engraved by Luke Sullivan, c.1746 (coloured line engraving; source: SCRAN).

National Library of Scotland

Anon. 1746 [A plan of the Battle of Culloden]. Shelfmark: EMS.p.92. [a photostat].

Anon. 1746 *Plan of the battle of Culloden*. Shelfmark: NG.1521.d.9. [published in The London Magazine for May 1746]

Anon. 1746 *A plan of the battle of Collodden*. Shelfmark: EMS.p.91. [a photostat divided into 4 sections]

Anon. 1746 *Plan of the battle of Collodden*. Shelfmark: EMS.p.93. [a photostat of a manuscript].

Anon. 1746 *The order of the Duke's Army, as they were drawn up the 16 of April 1746 near Cullenden House. (Rebel's Order of Battle)*. Shelfmark: EMS.s.159. [published in London for C. Corbet]

Anon. 1746 *Cullodon Battle 16 April 1746. (Royal Army & Rebels as form'd before ye engagement)*. Shelfmark: EMS.p.89. [published in London for J. Millan; photostat].

Anon. 1746 *A plan of ye disposition of both army's, in yt. Ever memorable battle & defeat of ye rebels by his R.H. ye Duke of Cumberland. Ap. 16, 1746 near Collodon House*. Shelfmark: EMS.s.157. [published in London by T. Dubois; second copy held as EMS.s.157A].

Anon. 1746 *A plan of the field of battle, and the adjacent country with the order of His Majesties Army ... as drawn up the 16 April 1746 at the engag[men]t w[ith] the rebels near Cullodon House as also a plan of the rebel army ... distinguishing each clan with their numbers brought into the field*. Shelfmark: EMS.s.158. [second copy held as MS.1696].

Anon. 1746 *Plan of the battle of Culloden, fought by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, the 16th of April, 1746*. Shelfmark: EMS.p.90. [a photostat; inset: *The Royal Army forming from the order of march, to the line of battle, which they performed three times before the action began*; includes references].

Anon. ca.1748 *Plan of the Battle of Culloden*. Shelfmark: Acc. 11323

Anon. 1754 *Plan of the battle of Culloden*. Shelfmark: Hall.187.j. [from James Ray's *A Compleat History of the Rising*; a photostat of this map is held as EMS.p.88].

Inventory of Historic Battlefields – Battle of Culloden

Beckington, I 1746 *Plan of the Battle of Culloden/ (I. Beckington sculp.)*. Shelfmark: Blk.147. [published in The British Magazine for May 1746].

Campbell, Dugal 1746 *Plan of the battle of Culloden 16 April 1746*. Shelfmark: EMS.s.128. [includes references, numbers of the clans, numbers killed etc. Photograph, slightly reduced, of a manuscript map in the Royal Library, Windsor].

Campbell, Dugal 1746 *Plan of the battle of Culloden 16 April 1746. Drawn by Dug. Campbell . . . (C. Mosley scut.)*. Shelfmark: EMS.p.87. [a photograph of the original in the possession of the Duke of Atholl; includes references to the plan; same as above?

Campbell, John 1747 *A plan of the battle of Culloden, April 16th, 1756/(Jo. Campbell fecit.)*. Shelfmark: EMS.p.100 [a photographic copy of a manuscript].

Finlayson, John(?) 1746(?) *A plan of the Battle of Culloden and the adjacent country, shewing the incampment of the English army at Nairn and the march of the Highlanders in order to attack them by night*. Shelfmark: EMS.s.156. [a photostat of this map on a reduced scale, divided into two sections, is held as EMS.p.94].

[Finlayson, John] ca.1747 *A General map of Great Britain; wherein are delineated the military Operations in that Island during the years 1745 and 1746, and even the secret Routs of the Pr after the Battle of culloden until his escape to France....[1747]*. Shelfmark: EMS.s.91.

Jefferys, Thomas 1746 *A Map of the River Forth, from Stirling to Barroustouness, including Linlithgow, Falkirk, and the countries adjacent, with the route of both armies to the field of battle/T. Jefferys sculp.* Shelfmark: EMS.s.161. [published according to Act of Parliament Feb.15 1745.6 (i.e. 15 February 1746) for E. Cave at St. John's Gate, London; relief shown pictorially; subsequently reissued after the Battle of Culloden with a new inset engraved over the widest part of the River Forth showing the troop deployment at that battle; explanation of battle positions, and description of events following the battle are engraved below the map; a copy of the map is also held by the British Library at shelfmark Maps 7406.(2.)].

Jones, Jasper Leigh n.d. *A plan of ye battle of Colloden between His Majs. forces under the command of His Royall Highness the Duke of Cumberland and the Sctt. rebels April ye 16 1746/surveyd and drawn by lasper Leigh Jones Lieut. Fireworker in ye Royl. Train of Artillery*. Shelfmark: MS.1648 Z.03/30b. [this map shows the array of both forces before the battle].

Paterson, Daniel 1746 *The March of the royal army from fochabers to Inverness with ane exact plan of the battle of Culloden April 16 1746*. Shelfmark: EMS.p.96. [photostat of a manuscript].

Inventory of Historic Battlefields – Battle of Culloden

Paterson, Daniel 1746 *A plan of the battle of Inverness fought Aprl. 16 1746*. Shelfmark: EMS.p.95. [photostat of a manuscript].

Paterson, Daniel n.d. *A plan of the battle of Coullodin moore fought on the 16th of Aprile 1746*. Shelfmark: MS.1648 Z.03/30a. [This map shows the array of both forces before the battle. As well as the disposition of the opposing troops, the plan shows Culloden House, Castle Stewart, the River Nairn, the Moray Firth, and the road to Nairn, as well as the town of Inverness, with the castle indicated, the River Ness and the road to Fort Augustus. In bottom left hand corner: in box, title, date and "Reference", with list of numbers, and names of features On plan to which they refer].

Sandby, T 1746 *Plan of the battle of Culloden 16 April 1746*. Shelfmark: EMS.p.99. [Photostat copy of an original in Windsor Castle; a second photostat copy of this map exists; shelfmark: EMS.p.98]

Wootton, J. and B. Baron 1747 *His Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland. &c. &c. &c. : With a view of the routed revel army near Culloden*. Shelfmark: RB.case.1(14). [Printed in London by Bern.d Baron, Thos Bowles and John Bowles; "Published according to Act of Parliament August the 10th 1747"; "J. Wootton Pinxit, B. Baron Sculp"].

National Monuments Record of Scotland

Anon. 1746 Plan of the battle of Culloden, including tiny view of Culloden House. Page 23v/1, Album No 111: Engravings of Buildings of Scotland. Shelfmark: AL 111/23V/1.

Roy's map – c. 1750 – shows enclosures, Leanach farmstead and moor road.

1st Ed OS 6" map, surveyed 1868 /9/ 70, published 1871/4/6. Nairn sheet VI.

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Pollard, T, Banks, I and Oliver, N forthcoming *Reports on Battlefield Investigations carried out for Two Men In A Trench*.. BAR.

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The Inventory of Historic Battlefields - Boundary Map

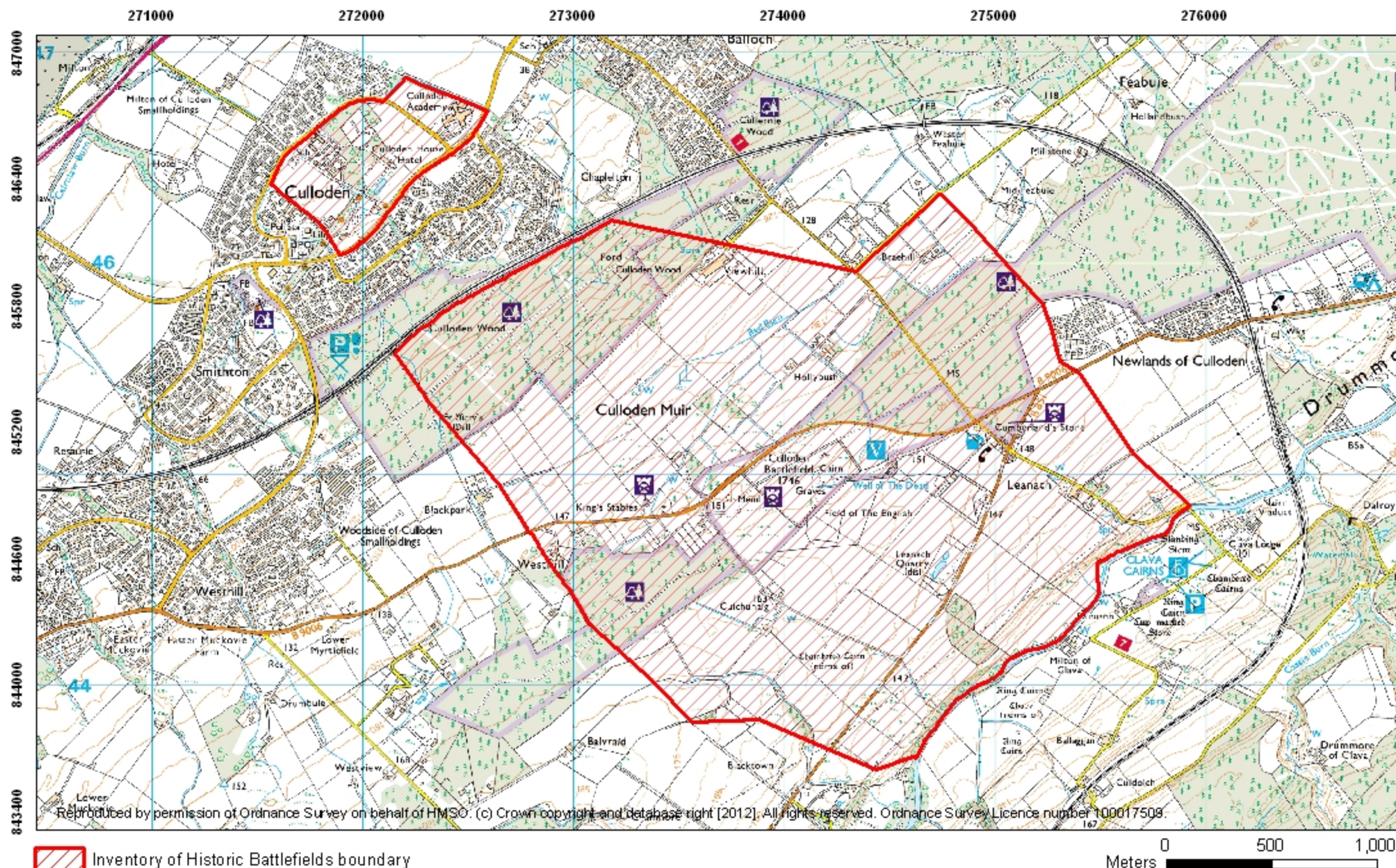
Culloden


16 April 1746

Local Authority: Highland



HISTORIC SCOTLAND
ALBA AOSMHOR



 Inventory of Historic Battlefields boundary

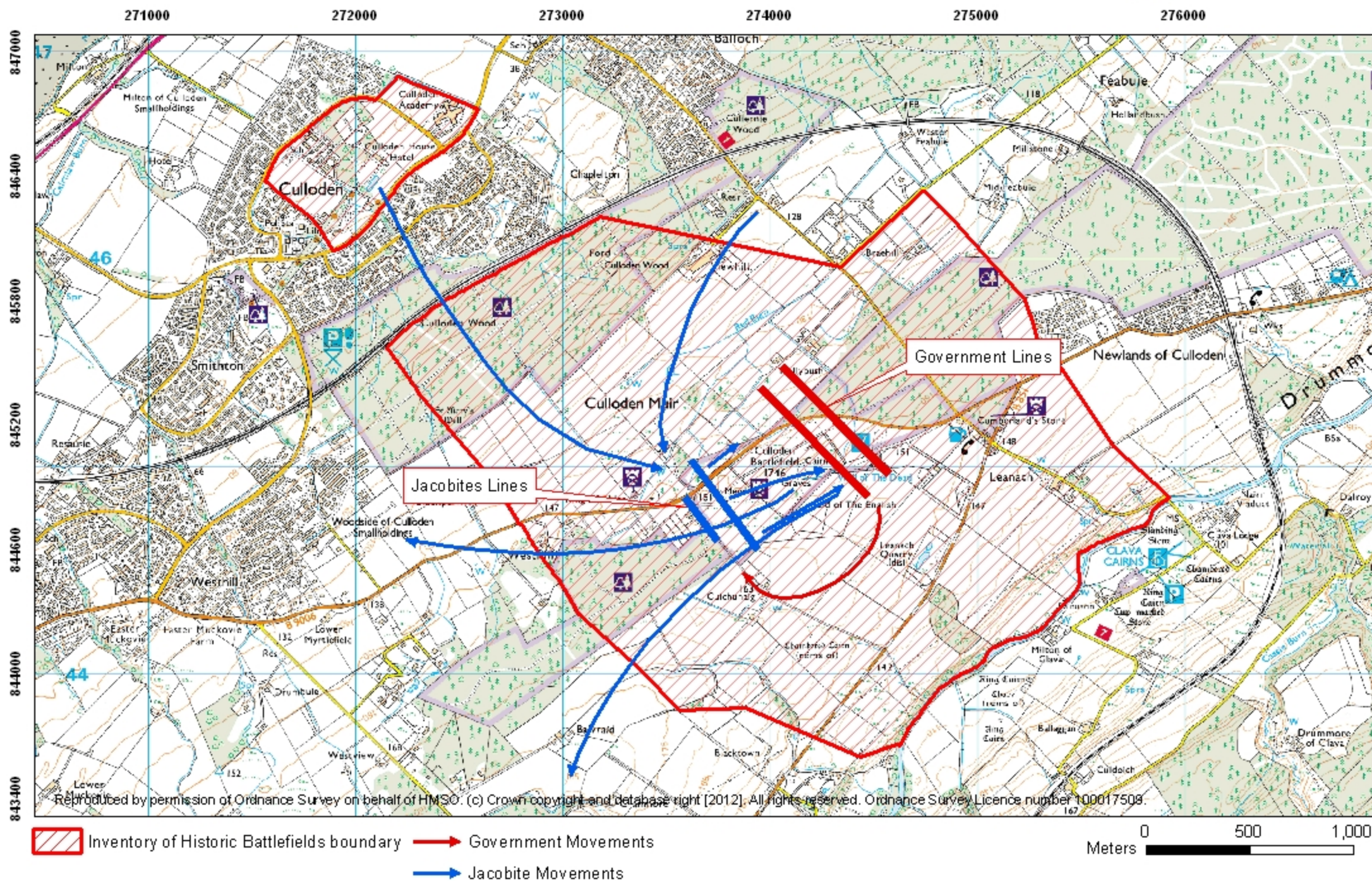
0 500 1,000
Meters

The Inventory of Historic Battlefields - Deployments

Culloden

16 April 1746

Local Authority: Highland



Local Authority: Highland



HISTORIC SCOTLAND
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